439 south of the mountains (the Coast Range). The
436 Tokya ate the fish from the shells and traded these to their inland neighbors. Usually the buyer made them up into money: this was what the Wowol did. The Tachi went to Wolasi villages to trade with the Wowol, but no farther south, as Yi´nel was the most southern Tachi village. The Tachi, Wolasi, and Chunut traded seed foods in exchange.

439 The Telamni came out to the Wolasi to
● 571 visit but not to trade (sic). They, the Wechihit, Wolasi, and Chunut came to Tachi mourning ceremonies at Telwe´y‹t. The Gawia did not ever visit so far west.

361 The large Tachi village called Telwey‹t
115 was on the edge of the lake south of the present town of Lemoore. An important chief there was Luču´ši. The informant M.G. was born there; after her marriage she moved "a little east up the river [Kings?] to a village called Gaiwo´šyu. The barren area west of Tulare Lake which extended as far as the Coast Range and was roamed over by Tachi was called Utju´i. (Kroeber places a village, Udjiu, in this area.) There was a pond near Loston Hills.

578 The Chunut informant, J.A., gives a differ-
361 ent picture of Tachi relations, but her less intimate view of the situation makes it seem unreliable. She states that the Tachi, Wowol, and Chunut fought frequently, with the Tachi and Nutunutu as allies against the combined Chunut and Wowol. Telwey‹t, a Tachi village, was at Summit Lake. At Woko´n were a series of camps among which the Tachi moved, especially when one camp had been visited by death. J.A. named Hono´tan (to stop suddenly) and či´yi (bones) as two important Nutunutu villages, both near Kingston. Čiyi is undoubtedly Kroeber's Chiau. A chief there was Oli´k‹s, nicknamed Nai'nai´'i'‹s (Squint-eye) because he was cross-eyed. The Nutunutu was a very large tribe, J.A. said.

101 The Chunut on Tulare Lake had Tachi and
131 Nutunutu neighbors toward the north. Their land extended eastward almost to the present site of Tulare (city), east of which dwelt the Wolasi. The main Chunut rancheria, which J.A. pronounces pi´sras, a pronunciation I believe is a corruption of "Pierce's Ranch," was near Farmersville, which she claimed was Chunut territory (čunu´tači pa'an). Near Tulare (city)
101 was a bottomless pond called mike´y‹t; things
484 which fell in were never recovered. The Chunut
131 frequently walked over to the ocean across the mountains to the west, provided relations were

726 ger then returned to the Tachi and informed
202 them of the arrangements that had been made for
539 the battle. Tabsa was pleased.

The next morning they left and met their enemies at the appointed place. They fought for a long time, shooting at each other and dodging. Some of them ran away. Tabsa and Xenilal grappled with one another for a long time. But Tabsa became exhausted, for Xenilal was a very large man. Finally Tabsa got away and spoke from a distance. Neither of them had any more arrows; they worked on each other with necklace charms.

728 At last Tabsa said that they had better
539 quit fighting, now that all of their comrades had run away. Xenilal agreed. In reply to Xenilal's question, Tabsa promised that he would never fight again. The Tachi had been severely beaten. Then Tabsa and Xenilal conferred; they were friends now. Tabsa told Xenilal that he thought they should not fight with each other but should live peacefully ('inestam, literally "in a good manner"). This leader seemed to be a remarkable man. He said that soon he would arrange to have the Northerners and Southerners assemble, so that they could see each other peacefully. This remarkable man was going to make a feast in seven days. He went on to say that Xenilal and his people need be afraid of nothing, that they should bring their comrades and wi[illegible] Xenilal asked when the feast would be hel[illegible] was told that it would probably take pla[illegible]even days. The final greetings were exchan[illegible]bsa repeated his hope that they fight no[illegible]ut live in peace, and the two leaders [illegible]rted for home.

The people had missed them; they thought that their leaders had killed each other. When Tabsa arrived among the Tachi, his comrades were still there. They expressed their surprise at seeing him, saying that they had thought he was dead. He assured them that he had not been killed, though Xenilal was a very powerful (ṭipni') man. He then asked the people to assemble at his home and added that it would be best for them not to fight again. The Tachi people agreed. On being questioned about the date of the feast, he said that he would start preparations immediately on his arrival home.

After he had returned to his home, Tabsa announced that the feast would take place in seven days. He warned the people not to "talk about anything" when the Southerners and the
[202] Chunut arrived. Then Tabsa sent his crier (wina·tum) south to carry the report to all the Tinlinin, Bankalachi, and Koyeti. The crier invited these people to the feast and assured them that there would be no more fighting.

574 The people went to the feast; all the
728 Tinlinin and Bankalachi came there. As soon
539 as they arrived, they were stopped and presented with bead (liĺna') money. This is Indian money. They feasted heavily, eating fish and many ducks and wild geese. At the end of the feast the Southerners were again given bead money. Then Tabsa spoke. He said that he did not think it good for them to fight; he thought it better that they should see each other peacefully, just as they were doing now. Then he told them all to return to their homes and to live peacefully.

796 At the end of the singing and dancing,[1] people who had long illnesses would be brought
[755] in to be cured. The shaman brushed off the patient with a flipping motion of his hand feathers. Neither doctor nor patients ate any meat for six days after this performance.[103]

765 The Huhuna Dance, which in the foothills is part of the annual mourning celebration but may also occur as a discrete entertainment, was known in the lake region only as an adjunct to the mourning ceremonies. J.A. recalls a performance at Tule River Reservation some twenty years ago, and another in Tachi territory when she was a little girl. Her failure to give a specific account of this for the Chunut fits
[184] with the Tachi (M.G.) statement that the Choinuk, Telamni, and northerners (Hoshima) lacked the dance. For its description see "Mourning Ceremony."

796 Guksai is a name mistakenly applied to Huhuna by some informants. J.A. clearly distinguished between the two and, indeed, was the one person who had seen and knew exactly who Guksai was. She saw this dancer at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley; his performance followed immediately upon Huhuna's.

This man was a doctor. His tribal affiliation was not known to J.A., who thinks he
[756] might have been Choinimni. He was dressed, not in Huhuna's long feather robe, but in the usual doctor's regalia: feather headdress (sema and ću), feather strand skirt, white paint (ho·šot) in streaks on his body but none on his face; he carried a bone whistle. He danced about by himself, then he would sit down for a while and sing to an accompaniment: Huhuna never sang. Guksai could not find money. But like Huhuna, he was "killed" by a doctor. In this instance it was a shaman named Manuelo (otherwise unknown to J.A.) who functioned. While Guksai was unconscious, the spectators wept but ceased as soon as he was revived.

J.A. said that Guksai was never seen "down this way" (in the valley or lake region); she did not know the subject of his songs. Both Huhuna and Guksai performed solely for the purpose of making money; the spectators wanted it because "it made the people giving the fandango [mourning ceremony] cry."

535 Pleasure dances (ha·tim) were frequently
517 held. A chief might give such little parties
574 (again referred to as lonu·witi) at his house. His wife and female relatives prepared quantities of food, and all the guests brought food contributions for which they were paid. The guests were "anybody" of any moiety, everybody from the village went, or any visitor from near-by villages. This was "just for a good time," and neither singers nor dancers were
[534] paid. The singers used the clapper accompaniment for such profane affairs. The songs "did

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[103] No payment was mentioned in connection with this affair, and my neglect to ask about it is a serious omission.

[1] [i.e., of the seed-growing dance of the Chunut

[P. 416] Tachi Chukut

535 not always have words"; they probably were of
517 the "hai´ya hai´ya" variety. Both sexes joined
574 in the dancing. The women wore eagle-down
strings around their hair. The men wore the
ceremonial feather skirt (tuhu´n) if they could
[302] get one, and painted their faces with stripes
or spots of black and white. There were no
special paint patterns for this dance.

No description of the dance steps was obtained, but J.A. made it clear that the dancing was not a group affair. A few men and women would dance at a time, which seems comparable to such pleasure dances as we know from the Wukchumni. There were no names for the dances: they were referred to as plain dance (hu´nai hati´m) or "little dance half the night" (wi´ti hati´m tu´pan toi´no).

[554] Although the chief's house was larger than others, the cooking, eating, and dancing took place outside.

535 At another time J.A. made brief reference
616 to a similar affair which she called "plain fandango" (hu´nai lonu´iwis). This involved a moiety division (in eating and dancing?) but it was not reciprocal, i.e., the moieties did not align as host and guest. It was held any time of year. A large meal was eaten, dancing continued all night, in the morning the participants swam, ate breakfast, and dispersed. Paint was worn for this "dance."

Gifford, in his data on Tachi moieties, gives a bit of information which may be pertinent here.

> Two dances in which ... paints were used were mentioned. One of them, called toxeliwiš hatama, was danced by shamans (anču) of the toxelyuwiš moiety. A second dance, called kikitwi, was described as a round dance and was said to have been originated by the nutuwuts moiety. In its performance, however, some tokelyuwiš usually participated with the nutuwuts dancers...
>
> At a feast each moiety prepared and served the food for the opposite moiety. A feast of this sort was held in 1913, two years before my visit.

Tachi Ceremonies

114 The following Tachi information from M.G. seems unsound in large part, no doubt owing to misunderstanding by the interpreters and myself. It is given as recorded. As mentioned above,
[766] the mourning ceremony was a distasteful topic
[152] and only the least "mournful" parts were spoken of.

756 The Shamans' Contest was known to all the plains people: "Wolasi, Telamni, everyone had heswaš." It was performed in the summertime toward the conclusion of a mourning ceremony. A winatum got the doctors together, he got them from Čiau (Kingston, a Nutunutu village) and from the Wechihit. M.G. saw this at Čiau. The Wechihit were on one side and some Wuk-

[i.e., pleasure dancers. - Analyst]

342 be three or four, above it. The topmost band was actually a small ring about 18 inches in diameter inside the pole tops which were spread apart by it: it served as a smoke hole as no covering was placed above it (fig. 5, a, b).

The thatch covering was made by twining together in long sections small bunches of fine willow or long fine grass. The grasses were placed head downward the better to shed water. These skirtlike sections were held in place by long willow strips running around outside of and parallel to the inner horizontal frame bands. The exterior band and thatch were bound to the interior band with ho'. An upper layer of thatch overlapped its lower neighbor by about one foot. When a house leaked, which was claimed to be only in prolonged rainstorms which soaked the grasses, a bundle of thatch or a tule mat was fastened over the weak spot.[353]

[285] A panel door was made by tying a specially made mat of tule or willow to a framework of willow or young alder. Normally this leaned against the house at one side of the doorway, but in bad weather, the only occasion for its use, it was tied over the door from the inside. Skins were not hung over the doorway. Storehouses were supplied with little doors tied on from the outside.

[354] The fireplace was always in a small hollow in the center of the house. In the summer, however, domestic fires were most frequently 342 built outside under the ramada. The floor was 352 covered with tule mats, several of which were piled together to make comfortable sleeping places. Baskets, articles in frequent use, and valuables were stored around the outer edges of the room. Cooking stones, stone-lifters, and mush-stirrer remained by the fireplace. Overhead one or more rods, whose ends rested on the horizontal frame bands, served as a place to hang articles; a special kind of hanging basket was made for this use. Small valuables were often hidden in the upper thatch or between mats. (M.L., J.P., S.G.) The most desirable [574] place for sitting during the daytime was just inside the door. At night, and when sleeping, a guest was placed at the center back.

Mats were rarely used on a conical frame 342 as they were not readily adaptable to its shape. 285 They were twined of fine willow or tule, varied from 2 to 4 feet in width, and were about 6 feet long. Four or five mats were needed to cover a house of average size; they were tied on with milkweed string. Such mats could be removed from one house to another and were convenient to roll up and take to summer camp. One informant (M.L.) stated that tule house mats were sewed, not twined, a method

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[353] No native-type houses are in use today. Two normal-sized but poorly built grass thatch houses, which had been made for show purposes, were seen by the recorder at Squaw Valley in 1927. They had been built by Chukaimina living there.

624 dressing them in ceremonial regalia, applying paint on their faces and bodies, caring for their paraphernalia dufing ceremonies, removing and destroying the causes of a sickness extracted from a patient, collecting the shaman's fees for a display or curing.

The following is largely from M.L.

622 The Gawia and Yokod had the same offices
624 and duties of chiefs and winatums as had the Wukchumni and Yaudanchi. Doctors had winatums of their own. A chief or a winatum looked just like any other citizen of his village; he had
[293] no special mark or manner of dress. But when traveling a winatum always carried a long slender cane which was not decorated. When he entered another village, he went directly to the chief's house. He was paid by the parties at both ends, i.e., by the chief who sent him and the one who received him.

A chief always sent his winatum from house to house to announce a mourning ceremony or any other news that was to be made public. He would send him to a family with a special message, say, with a request that they cease quarreling, and people sent back word to the chief by the same means.

624 When a winatum arrived at a village, he went directly to the chief's house. A mat was
209 set out for him in front of the house and food was brought to him. He must eat some of the food, but it was not imperative that he finish it. He was joined by the chief and, when he
[431] was through his collation, gave his message. If he had money for exchange he produced it or, if a loan was to be discussed, he kept the money until the chief and his associates were ready to accept. His money he carried in a
[293] purse or sack called gu·ta´la. This was a complete skin of a wildcat (tu·ñed), fox (a´dja), or tree squirrel (sa´ñsañwide´'ɨt) cured with the fur still on. The head of the skin was pulled up under his breechclout at the left hip. The sack full of money was kept under his neck to protect it.[239] A winatum who stayed the night remained as the chief's guest: he did not go to the local winatum save as a visitor to pass the time of day.

624 For a forthcoming Annual Mourning Ceremony, or for lesser affairs, the winatums made all the arrangements, secured performers, planned the food, wood, and water supply. The number of winatums in a village "depended on the size of the winatum's family," there was usually but one winatum's lineage in a village. The winatum was not a personal servant to the chief but could be called on by anyone for assistance -- provided they paid him for his
[574] services. When the Yokod, Gawia, or Chunut
[571] visited the Wukchumni they brought their own winatums. Visiting winatums "all helped each other" under the direction of the local head winatum. When a chief had some project on hand

[239] Neck-rests and pillows were a joke to informants who were told of such articles among other people.

616 assigned (eastside or westside), and as fami-
619 lies arrive they are received by winatums and asked their provenience, so to say, before being told where to camp. J.B. said, "There was no dividing up [according to family totem] at a duniša (mourning ceremony) except among the tia'a. All the other people followed the tia'a of their own village."

574 The spatial arrangement at a mourning
769 ceremony was roughly square: the hosts and recipients opposite each other, and the visi-
616 tors at each end divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich. The actual directions of east and west were not always followed as the spatial possibilities differed from village to village.

619 The second manifestation of this tribal
769 moiety arrangement at the Annual Mourning Cere-
616 mony was in the Shamans' Contest, the opponents being divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich according to their tribal affiliations. To ex-
619 emplify this, J.B. named several shamans whom he had seen as contestants, giving their tribe,
756 totem animal, and directional affiliation, as
616 follows:

Nutuwich

Wukchumni: Či'čen (Rattlesnake); Ta'sowːk (Rattlesnake); Po'hač (Rattlesnake); Umiča'na (Rattlesnake).

Yaudanchi: Čamšu'šan (Magpie); J.B. added that this man was a curing doctor and Huhuna Dancer as well.

Choinimni: Pušlːlːn (Rattlesnake); Kaplːlːn (Rattlesnake).

Tokelyuwich

Telamni: Li'sːš (Owl); U'nun (Owl); Sa'pagai (Owl); "Winatum" (Owl); this man was a curing doctor, huhuna dancer, and winatum.

Yokod: Šut (Owl) [this is not in accord with his previous statement that the Yokod were Nutuwich].

Some other participants who were known merely as "southerners" to J.B. he classified thus: Maiye'mai and his brother, Po'sut, Tokelyuwich; Wati'sti and Andrés, Nutuwich.

616 When J.B.'s attention was called to the
825 fact that his groupings, as given above, were aligned by totem animals (as well as by tribe),
[756] he claimed he could not recall any participants in the Shamans' Contest who had other animals as symbols. [It seems possible to me that shamans with the same totems may have stayed together and been assigned to one or the other side arbitrarily.] He admitted that totem animals could be grouped as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich and said this was done when non-moiety persons were visiting or participating with a moiety-divided tribe, as Wukchumni or Michahai with Choinimni or Telamni. According to J.B., if such a grouping must be made, "Eagle, Duck, and Owl were Tokelyuwich, Rattlesnake, Bear, Magpie, and Deer, Nutuwich. Dove, Weasel, Skunk, and Coyote could be on any side because they were chiefs' and doctors' helpers. Eagle

535 ated it from all other pleasure dances, cannot be said, as no informant could give the necessary details. For no ascertainable reason it is referred to in English as the "war dance." J.B.'s account follows.

Tepo´sa, a Wowol, and another man named Ana´ki, danced this at times of celebration, particularly at the close of a mourning ceremony. "It was only done at a very big fandango. Bob Bautista danced this any time to make money but that wasn't done in the old days."

The dancers wore the regulation feather skirt and headdress. Teposa had his face painted entirely black; Anaki had one-half his face
[302] black, the other side white. Both men had their bodies covered with short horizontal white stripes. Two singers accompanied them,
[533] Ka´tai and Yawa´umi; they were Teposa's sister's sons.

535 When it was the appointed time after a mourning ceremony for a dance, such as the kam,
●574 several dancers from visiting tribes would take turns performing for an hour or so. In this way a keen sense of competition was created and the dancers catered to an appreciative audience.

535 The dancers who participated in the all-
765 night dance after a mourning ceremony were al-
[756] ways doctors, according to J.P. They would be sought from amcng the visitors, as would be the singers. There would be four to six men dancers who stood in a row, while one woman only stood in front of them. Whatever woman was asked for this role had to comply, and she would be given about ten cents (a half hista of bead money) for doing it. "If she didn't know how to dance, she just stood there until she got her money and then ran off."

533 The singers used clapper accompaniment
534 (the cocoon rattle was used only for the Bear
765 Dance and Snake Ritual). There were three or four of them. One man sat beside them and collected the money for the dancers and singers; a man who did this was termed winatum for the
541 time being. J.P. said that in the old days "when the money was beads, it was so piled up you couldn't carry it off in a blanket."

When a chief wanted to make money he would collect some dancers and singers and visit other villages, or often the performers themselves would go without a chief's sponsorship. Of course, they could not give an entertainment at any place visited without having the permission of the chief of that place. When a chief accompanied them as "manager," he collected the money and distributed it among the performers. The singers were invariably paid "because it is hard work to sing all night."

552 The name "war dance," which has become
535 attached to this shamans' pleasure dance (kam or watiyod), J.P. regards as entirely due to white persons' misunderstanding. No fight or

276 752 S.G. knew a man who had a broken bone. He fasted twenty-four hours. Then he drank tañai in continuing small doses which "kept him drunk three or four days during which time the bone was set. When tañai was used this way bones would set within a week."

M.P. knew a man who lived in Antelope Valley; he was part Patwisha, part Wukchumni. He broke his arm. He took jimsonweed to drink and also made a poultice for his arm. "Even though the bones had overlapped they went right back into place."

276 J.B. knew two Wukchumni who lived in Antelope Valley who took tañai "just to find out things." They were Obogu´nda and Walai. J.B. had seen Choinimni take it but "never saw anyone use it at Dunlap" [Entimbich and Wobonuch, but see Wobonuch account, Pt. II].

Bear Dance

796 613 The Bear Dance (ñoho´'o ka´maič) was one of the most important ceremonies of the year.[269] It always took place in the fall after the new acorn crop had been gathered and stored. Until the rite was performed, the new acorns were tabu to all people having Bear as a totem animal, although others could eat them if they wished. Important people of Bear lineages, particularly the dancers, conversed among themselves, deciding on who should take part, on the date, and so forth. Their decisions were told to the local chief who, through his winatum, announced when and where the affair was to be held: the date was usually set six days ahead. Meanwhile food was gathered by the persons of the Bear lineages and by the chief. They were the hosts and provided all the food, although visitors might send or bring food, for which they would be paid. The visitors from other villages often began arriving soon after the initial announcement was made. [574]

796 The dance itself took place about nine o'clock on one evening only; it was never given in the daytime. The dancers were usually, but not necessarily, residents of the host village. Two to four men participated, and one woman, who was always a relative -- daughter, sister or cousin -- of at least one of her men companions, although the men need not be related. The one prerequisite was that they all, as well as having Bear as a family totem, had dreamed of the animal. (I am not sure how essential the dream was for the woman.)

796 [237] The men wore whole bearskins attached to themselves with thongs. (At another time J.P. said the male dancers wore bear-paw skins pulled on over their hands like mittens.) Bear-claw necklaces were worn, and sometimes flicker-feather bands were tied like streamers from the arms. The woman dancer merely wore her "best clothes" -- deerskin apron, beads, down head-

[269] This major account and accompanying demonstration are from M. and J.P.; other accounts follow.

[P. 126 b] Wukchumni

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I counted 437 able-bodied young men on the walk I took [around the village], and about 600 women and children all placed before this village. Across the front of the ranchería I counted 358 double paces [pasos dobles] which makes 624 yards [varas], and across its back 432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the ranchería were guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 younger women.

[561]
[252]

When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while younger ones were grinding seeds on stones as is their custom .... Its [Chischa] people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance.

Some two hundred more he discovered in hiding, and later over one hundred visitors came from another rancheria.

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The visitors brought with them their own mats and blankets, shinny sticks, and gambling equipment. Games and gambling were frowned upon at the site of the ceremony, but during the week of the ceremony men who wanted to play shinny might do so if they went beyond shouting distance from the assembly.

Ritual Weeping; Effigy-Making

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Events during the six days of the ceremony followed a definite program. Since the introduction of European culture, and perhaps owing to early Spanish-Catholic influence, the period has been equated with weekdays so that the night of crying fell on Saturday night, the washing, feasting, and aftermath of celebration on Sunday. The plan of events was this: the first day or two (Monday and Tuesday)guests began arriving, and the bereaved families spent their time making the effigy dolls; on the third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the Huhuna Dance was performed -- on the third if a minor or "warming-up" contest of shamans was to be given on the fourth; on the fifth (Friday) the Shamans' Contest; on the sixth evening, the burning of effigies; and on the seventh day (Sunday) the ritual washing and feasting. The native feeling was that the effigy burning and subsequent washing and celebrating all constituted "one day," i.e., the sixth, which is not illogical as the events continued from Saturday evening until Sunday evening without break for sleep or rest.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 143 C] Choinimni

439 barterers, with the Monachi (Wobonuch Western Mono) neighbors on Kings River above Sycamore Creek. The Yokuts considered themselves superior. Unlike the Penutian-speakers of the valley, the upland Monachi were found to be treacherous and thievish by the Mayfield family. However, with characteristic fairness, Mayfield said that this might be due to his family's friendliness with the Yokuts and that, had the Mayfields been placed first amongst the Monachi, these Indians probably would have been the friends and the Yokuts would have proved equally inimical.[3]

619 423 What is clear throughout is this: that utmost friendliness prevailed among all the Yokuts tribes in contact with one another along these waterways, particularly with regard to fishing privileges. While the Choinimni felt the north bank of Kings River to be theirs, between the Wobonuch on the east and the Toihicha on the west, the Gashowu were welcome to occupy their fish camp (Map 2: Local Map D) during the spring salmon run. These neighbors remained there while the fish dried, which they then took home to store. Similarly there were the most flexible "boundaries" for seed and acorn gathering. As elsewhere along the eastern side of the San Joaquin Valley, there was an abundance of fish, game, and vegetable foods; probably for that very reason, nothing was begrudged. There was much intertribal visiting during ceremonies; the Choinimni, Michahai, and Entimbich particularly combined on such occasions.

574 484 [501] 574 502 484 The Choinimni, for their part, were annual visitors in the Tulare Lake region, where they were hospitably received by the Tachi. An excursion to the lake on tule balsas is described by Jeff Mayfield. The visitors took with them supplies and equipment for camping. The large balsas were boarded at the edge of the hills, some ten miles below Sycamore Creek, where the river waters were broad and placid, yet full

[text continues on p. 145]

[3] Ibid.

574 502 484 from the spring floods which would carry them over impeding sand bars. About ten days were required for the trip. Accompanying hunters sometimes traveled afoot all day and joined the group on the barges wherever they were moored for the night. While at the lake, the foothill [22 438] people engaged in fishing, bird snaring, rabbit drives, and so on, and doubtless traded their native products for local ones.[4]

726 P.D.W. had heard of but one "war," in which "all the Indians gathered at a flat near Centerville and then ran up back of Pine Ridge." No more coherent statement could be got: it suggests an occurrence under white pressure, perhaps in connection with the Ghost Dance.[5]

101 In referring to neighboring people, directional terms were generally applied when one did not wish to make reference to a specific tribe. Thus the Gashowu, Kechayi, Dumna to the north were called hošo´m. The Michahai, Chukaimina, and even Wukchumni were homti´nɔn, southerners. The term wa´kli´u was applied to the Toihicha and Wechihit on the west. The Wobonuch and Entimbich to the east were spoken of as not. Collectively all Western Mono groups were referred to as nuta´wi or nutsa´wi (easterners, uplanders), just as were other mountaineers to the south, TÜbatulabal (Pitanisha) by Paleuyami, Koyeti, etc.

823 Directions were spoken of spontaneously by P.D.W. and given unhesitatingly in the following order: hošo´mo (north); homtinɔn (south); wakli´u (west, possibly downstream); not (east, mountainwards); ti´pɔn (up); atɔ´l (down).

Localities

131 Local Map D shows the following Choinimni and Wobonuch sites.

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103 Choinimni sites:

1. kipai´yu: west terminus of Choinimni territory; Centerville
2. hoha´ltao: valley east of Piedra
3. hɔ´ha´šyu: cemetery for no. 4
4. tihe´ču: meaning "fish going up"; a fishing camp
5. wohoi´nu: campsite
6. kuluša´o: an old large village
7. waša´mao: a village
8. yegwo´nyu: a village
9. lolo´nču: a village
10. mučeto´´o: a camp
11. wiše´lao: west terminus of Entimbich territory where they came for fish
12. wo´a´ltyu: northeastern terminus of Michahai territory
13. apa´wič: Trimmer Springs; west terminus of Wobonuch territory called by them wasa´mu

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[4] Ibid., 29, 30.

[5] Perhaps earlier, 1851, at the time of the Mariposa Battalion's forays.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 1559] DUMNA

131 The type of country in which the Northern
175 Foothill Yokuts dwelt was praised by Major Savage. He described it as land of the "Chow-chillas," but in recent times Western Mono have occupied the area and may have then.

131 This belt of country [Sandhill Crane
136 Valley on North Fork of the San Joaquin] beats the region of the Yosemite or the Po-ho-no
175 Meadows for game, if the Indians tell the truth; and with the exception of the Kern River Country, it is the best south of the Tuolumne River. It abounds in grizzly and cinnamon bears, and there are some black bears Deer are very plenty, and a good variety of crane, grouse, quail, pigeons, road-runners, squirrels and rabbits -- besides, in their season, water
137 fowl. This territory of the Chow-chillas has plenty of black acorns (their favorite acorn),
175 and besides this there are plenty of other supplies of bulbous roots.[37]

SHELTER, FOOD, IMPLEMENTS

343 Structures.---There were six different sweat houses (mos) at B.W.'s Dumna village; they were of different ages and sizes, two of them in disrepair.[38] When a new sweat house
[574] was completed, a "fandango" was given by the chief. B.W. could not describe this, save that there was "plenty to eat and everybody had a good time. Then they could sweat."

342 The houses (sa´mːs), large and spherical, were covered with "brush" thatch, not tule.

Foods and beverages.---Pine nuts (pa´san)
222 were obtained on trips up to the mountains or
262 were brought down for trade by the Kechayi. The pine cone and pine tree were called ton; pasan also meant the split pine cone.

Manzanita cider (a´pču) was made of the
252 ripe berries which were mashed and freed of
272 their seeds. The pulp was put in water for several hours, then the liquid was strained through a basket sieve. A hot tealike drink (či´tːl) was made by pouring hot water on the pulp; the pulp, with a little water, was eaten as a "mush" and called ča´pi. A thickening material called ča´nːt was pounded up and added sometimes [čanːt not identified].

Implements.---The plain bow (miko´n) was
411 made of pine, but was gotten by trade from the Kechayi or Posgisa, as was also the sinew-backed bow (piki´l). All kinds [sic] of arrows were called tuyo´s.

412 A knife for scraping was made from the rib bones of a deer or any other large animal.

For fishing, a hook (mike´) was made of
227 "some piece of bone which was boiled to make it soft and then it was bent." This was used on a string for angling [European introduction ?].
[262] Small fish eaten were: polhu´i, (sucker), wːsča´ (lamprey eel), and lu´pːč (brook trout).

[37] Quoted, ibid., 116.

[38] "Too old to be any good, just like I am now," said B.W.

342 Poles (lo´kot) of any pliable wood were set within the edge of the depression, and were held in position by horizontal bands of willow withes (ka´pai). There would be three or four of these bands, each one smaller than the preceding, constricting the frame poles in a globular (not conical) form. The last ring (awa´nač), about 20 inches in diameter, had the tips of the side poles tied to it; the poles did not extend through it. The nearly upright sides of the dwelling were lined on the inside with vertical strips of cedar or pine bark (šolo´pi·). Thatching was of "any kind of long weeds" [sic] (ko´·osn·l).[51] This E.M. thought was not twined, but was inserted in bunches under the horizontal withes lashed down over it. Mats were not used.

The doorway (palu´an) was covered with a twined mat of "weeds" stiffened by lashing on a frame. On each side of the door were two extra poles, parallel with those of the door frame, behind which the mat door was slipped [354] to keep it from tipping over.

The fire was in the center.

An earth-covered house was known but evidently little used by the Kechayi: "plains people used them more." The frame was hemispherical, like that of the thatched house, and the structure had an excavated floor. After the "weeds" were tied on "dirt was thrown all over it." The entrance was in the side (not through the smoke hole) and had a separate mat-covered door. In short, it seems to have been the usual Kechayi house with a covering of earth, and similar to that of the Choinimni. Like all Kechayi houses this was a one-family dwelling.

Houses of the Northern Foothill district never had more than one room. During the day a position on either side of the door was considered desirable, "because there was no smoke [574] there." But at night a guest always had the place at the center back, the warmest and safest. In summer, fires were outdoors.

Husband and wife joined in the construction of their house, the man looking after the [48] framework, the woman after the thatch. Men [562] tied on the upper layers of thatch, as climbing was not seemly for women. There was a sense of [586] joint ownership and, upon divorce, the offending party was expected to abandon the dwelling.

386 Houses of a village were set out in a row if the site permitted; if it did not, any ar-622 rangement was permissible. Regardless of his moiety, a chief's house was always placed at the west end. No other house had a special location.

535 Dance house.---The Miwok "round house" was known to the people on the San Joaquin River, but it was not imitated. No dances or cere-

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[51] There was undoubtedly some preferred material, as suggested by the name E.M. offered, but she couldn't or wouldn't identify it.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 191 b] Chuckchansi

276 took about one week to dry out on rocks. This type of tobacco was eaten with powdered oyster-shell lime. The shells came from Friant (Dumna, Gashowu territory) where they grew abundantly along the river.

276 887 [594] Old people made a practice of eating tobacco and lime frequently. They would gather at various houses. The host had the tobacco and shells. The shells he put on hot coals where they "softened" and "burned black." The shells were crushed in a small mortar, and an equal amount of cake tobacco was added, the whole pulverized together and enough water added to make a thin soup. The pestle, which was about six inches long and one inch thick, remained in the mortar as it was passed around. Each guest took a lick off the pestle, the host receiving it last. As the old people sat around, one might say to the person partaking, "How's that? Sleep well tonight!" The partaker might commence to hiccough. He'd say, "One more." The mortar was at once passed to him; he might want three or four more mouthfuls. When he had enough to make him vomit he went out, went off a little way, vomited, and continued home where he "slept all night."[116] It was done about every three days.

Old men and women used tobacco this way. A young man might try it, as did J.R. in his youth. But a young woman, up to middle age, would not take it. N.W., too, had tried it and like it: "it tasted good, it tasted like pine nuts."

Elderly men and women indulged in smoking more than young ones, usually just before retiring. However, one could smoke any time if he wanted to. A man would carry a small buckskin pouch "a little bigger than a store Durham tobacco sack" which contained crushed leaf tobacco and his little pipe. J.R. said an inveterate smoker, like his father, would carry a small firemaking set with him consisting of hearth, drill, and oak gall. One smoked by taking two or three puffs and then laying the pipe aside: "they don't smoke like this white, smoke it all out," said J.R. Clay pipes were not made, just wooden ones, of manzanita "which has the same hardness all the way through." A stem about an inch in diameter was cut to the desired length (2 to 2-1/2 in.) and scraped down, tapering toward the mouth end. This was slow work, took two or three days. The larger end for the bowl was scraped out and finally a hole punched through to the bowl from the mouth end. J.R. knew only of using a piece of hot iron, like a nail, for punching the hole. [Presumably, in old times an obsidian drill point was used. -- A.H.G.]

[787] [777] [116]Neither informant mentioned the inducement of dreams as the motive for this practice, the usual motive of Yokuts farther south. Wizards could be detected by a tobacco-eater, Kroeber states (Handbook, 538). The Miwok used the tobacco and lime emetic, apparently without religious connotations (Barrett and Gifford, 195).

[P. 215 9] Western Mono NS 25

Y W 439 the passes were again open. The Waksachi never went east to trade; on rare occasions two or three young men might go over to visit as a kind of adventure. The Eastern Mono never came to social functions, the Ghost Dance of 1870 being the first contact of a social order.

Y W [574]

The articles brought from the east to trade were: rock salt; pinon nuts; mountain sheep skins (diwe´s:p); moccasins; a sleeveless buckskin jacket sewn up the sides; leggings of foxskin cured with the fur on, which were worn tied above the ankles and just below the knees; baskets; pine sticks for lifting hot cooking stones; sinew-backed bows; unfinished obsidian arrowheads. Payment was made in humana beads and smaller beads, acorn meal, and fine Yokuts baskets. In later days red beads and Spanish blankets were wanted by the Eastern Mono.

When the Waksachi were encamped at Gaines Flat, the Telamni, Gawia, and other valley dwellers would come up to get stone mortars and pestles. They asked the Waksachi to sell those very things they were using; the Waksachi never took any others along for trade. (Perhaps this relieved them of the burden of carrying them home on the upward journey, having had their use of them.) B.O. here interposed a description of the Telamni mortar, which was made from the crotch of an oak tree. The Telamni also wanted small stone mortars of the type used for tobacco. While they wanted stone mortars for themselves, they, in turn, sold their oakwood mortars to the Chunut, Tachi, and Wowol of the lake region.

Y [322]

Warfare

W Y 726 B.O. stated that the Wechihit, Choinimni, and Hoshima (Northerners in general) would come over jointly to fight the allied Waksachi and Wukchumni. These fights were rare and were tactically simple; they were called una´na pi´dikan. There were no special officers of war, but certain brave men would be acknowledged leaders on these occasions. The leader stood back and directed the fighting while the opposing warriors lined up, each man shooting at the one directly opposite. Bows and arrows were the only weapons; no spear or shield was used. There was no waiting for a dream or omen before going into conflict. The causes of these hostile interludes are obscure.

W Y [177] Raiding for horses became a favorite aggressive activity after their introduction by the Spanish on the coast; they were available in the valley in, roughly, 1800 and after. Four or five men would go west to the valley plains, and probably to the enemies mentioned above, to steal a horse, which they would then lead off, kill, cook, and eat. The Waksachi never stole from the Wukchumni. There is a strong desire for horse ownership among these people even at the present time, 1927.

W Y [556]

W Y [P. 216 9] Western Mono NS 25

342 frame bands and hanging baskets, jerked meat, skins, and other things hung from them. There was no special place of honor for a guest to sit or sleep, though the preferred place was thought by B.O. to be just inside the door on either side. The senior or authoritative woman of the household who was responsible for the preparation of meals usually sat and worked just to the left of the entrance as one entered.

W Y [36] There was no village plan, or defined location for chiefs' or doctors' homes.

While the Waksachi used the conical house, the oval type, characteristic of the Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts, was the more common, according to B.O The floor space, which was some 15 feet wide by 20 feet long, was not dug down, but were down eventually from constant tramping.

Two forked poles supported a center beam or ridgepole 10 to 15 feet long. These parts might be of alder or oak. The frame was of willow "or any kind of good wood." The side poles were laid against the center beam, and those at the ends were laid into the forked post. These side poles, while held in position by horizontal withes, were not bent to form a curved roof line, as in Yokuts houses, but, lying straight, produced an obtuse-angled gable.

The walls were covered with a thatch of grasses, seldom a thatch of tule (fig. 1, b, Pt. I). The whole process was the same as for the conical house. Both men and women tied this thatch on, although men made the frame and women the thatch "skirt."

The doorway, which was invariably in the long side of the house, was covered by a mat of twined tules stiffened on each side with willow sticks lashed along its edges. The door was not fastened to the house, "just leaned against it."

There was never more than one room to such a dwelling, nor were there partitions. "A man built his house the size he needed and he never added a room" (B.O.). The fireplace was in the center, the smoke escaping through a slot left at the ridgepole between the last rows of thatch. Beds were made of pine boughs, obtainable near Eshom Valley, or of tule mats. Rabbitskin blankets were the preferred covering, though these often had to be obtained by trade with the valley people. No type of pillow or head rest was used. [The idea of a wooden head or neck rest B.O. thought very funny indeed.] There was no place of honor.

W Y [352] [237] [439] [522] [513]

No plan was followed when setting up houses in a village: "anybody built where he liked."

The bark-covered house (ṭoṭo ʻpti, Michahai) was made on a conical framework which had as its basis a single forked center post. Occasionally two forked posts with a short center beam were used. Against either the single fork or the center beam were laid stiff poles, rather close together and lashed to their sup-

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
LP. 216 b [redacted] Mono NS 25

W Y 342 port with ropes. Against these were laid slabs of cedar bark which were tied to the frame at convenient or necessary intervals. Earth was thrown up around the base to hold the slabs in place and to prevent water from running in. Although the bark was hard to get, as cedar grows only up in the higher mountains, it was not bought from the tribes of the Western Mono, living at higher altitudes, or from the Eastern Mono traders.

W Y 343 Shades (ci´nu'ăš) were used only during the summer, when one was put up in front of nearly every home. The construction was a simple affair of four forked corner posts, four tie beams connecting these with transverse beams on which leafy willow boughs were laid. W Y 594 All cooking, eating, and lounging were done there. When visitors were expected for a ceremony, long rows of shades were erected for their shelter. On these, back walls were sometimes added against wind or rain, They also served as shades for spectators at the ceremony.

W Y 343 Storehouses.---The Michahai, like the Yokuts of the valley, may have used a small house for storage. (The Waksachi did not.) Here extra baskets, foodstuffs, hunting and fishing equipment, etc., were kept.

251 Storage bins.---Two types were described by S.O. and B.O.; both were called suna´'ăts in Michahai. For the first, and apparently the most common, about six stakes, approximately about 10 feet long, were driven in the ground in a circle about 3 feet in diameter. Small willows were cut an even length and twined, top and bottom, into a long mat or strip. One end of this was fastened to one of the stakes, and the whole wound around all the stakes. A packing of leaves was filled in on the ground, and acorns thrown in on it. As the space filled, another turn of the mat was taken around the stake frame. It was about 8 feet high when finished. To fill the upper levels, and also to get out acorns, a woman stood on a forked stick "ladder" propped firmly against the side of the bin. To top off the bin, a conical cover of twined grass was fitted on and tied down. As the contents of the bin lowered, the upper turns of the mat were removed.

When S.O. was talking of this type of bin, he claimed that the wall was formed of a single mat, some 3 to 4 feet deep, wound once around the frame. Sometimes this mat was held upright in a cylindrical form by having horizontal withes tied around it. These bins could then be picked up and carried to some preferred location, usually to the top of a flat rock, for dryness was essential in keeping the acorns: "a woman might have from three to several of these on one rock." The bottom was filled with grass, the acorns filled in, another layer of grass put in, and the whole topped off with a conical cap of grass thatch.

A storage bin close to home was made on a raised framework. A forked post some 6 feet

[P. 224 b] Western Mono NS25

W Y 137 192 262

tu'ba: piñon nut
wa'p: cedar
sana'uap: fir
o' pa'dra: yucca ("cactus")
o' b': yucca blossom stalks, eaten in the bud.
wo'honaba: redwood
ye'b:p: tamarack, grew at Big Meadows
tsa't:p: slippery elm
napa''ap': alder
soho'p': cottonwood
tanapo'nip': ash
pa'sitap: willow
s"hu'b': small willow
se'nowiyap: elderberry bush

W Y 372

Firemaking.---The Michahai and Waksachi made fire by striking and drilling. When flint rocks were struck, the sparks fell on a tinder of fine growth derived from oak trees (Spanish moss ?) or on rotten buckeye wood. The drill apparatus consisted of a buckeye hearth, mountain-mahogany drill, and oak-growth tinder.

Meals and Manners

W Y 264

Meals were eaten just after sunrise, about noon, and just before sunset. The midday meal was taken only by persons in camp and was little more than the casual picking up and eating of already prepared food. A man going off from home would not take food with him unless he were to be gone more than twenty-four hours. The occupations which took men away all day usually permitted them to return in the late afternoon. When gambling and playing games, men often became so absorbed that they would not stop to eat during the day. However, between the two main meals, morning and evening, there was considerable eating of odd bits, as one wanted them, of such things as honey, piñon nuts, and cooked food left over from previous meals.

W Y [415]

People never ate directly from a cooking basket. The food was apportioned in smaller coiled baskets (fig. 3, Pt. I), which were usually individual. Often two or three small children would share the food in a small basket or, in very poor families, adults might have to do the same. The three middle fingers were dipped into the mushes; gruels and soups were drunk from the edge of the basket; meat and fish were torn apart with the fingers as the cook had already hacked it up with an obsidian blade before putting it on to stew; jerked meat and fish were usually cooked by boiling in pots or baskets.

W Y 264 574

The essence of hospitality was the serving of food. The first person to recognize an approaching visitor called to him to come and eat. Custom required that a visitor go first to the chief's house, where he was given food; no one necessarily ate with him unless a meal were in course. Then, unless he were a winatum whose business kept him with the chief, he was called

[P.225a] Western Mono NS25

W Y 264 574 from house to house. "He went the rounds and never declined" (S.O.). This procedure was not followed with persons whose intimate connections in a village took them there frequently.

W Y 576 A person approaching a house shouted or otherwise drew attention to himself. To approach quietly was looked upon with suspicion.

The Waksachi greeting used by B.O. was hani ˊ'iwa'ü ñwa [one word]. This he claimed was wholly aboriginal although the translation is practically the "How are you?" of European culture. The proper or expected reply was nasu ˊmi naü ñwa tsatsa ˊmo (all of us well, or satisfactory).

W Y [888] Any old man might be called [paternal] "uncle" as a term of good-nature and esteem, much as Europeans call any greybeard "little grandfather."

W Y 521 517 During the evening, between supper and complete darkness, or after dark in the winter, people sat around conversing. Some would be engaged in tasks such as acorn-shelling or preparing tobacco for the pre-retiring drink. They talked about their plans for ceremonies, hunting, or other occupations; particularly important were discussions of the seasonal moves to other localities for fish, acorns, seeds, etc. Older people told stories, explained the nature of the world, and prescribed conduct for youngsters. This was the only means of instruction.

W Y [869] During the evening young people would shell acorns while some old person told stories or adventures. Stories were told only at night. S.O. recalls Etak and Wilolohi as especially fine entertainers.

W Y [525] The hand game was favorite evening entertainment as it could only be played at night, whereas the women's dice game could be played only during the day.

W Y [276] Persons wishing to induce good dreaming would foregather at a house to drink of tobacco and lime.

MANUFACTURES

Baskets

W Y 285 [177] According to D. the basketry of the Michahai and Waksachi was exactly like that of their Yokuts neighbors. From other informants we know this to be true, yet it should be pointed out that a mutual exchange has brought this about. The Mono-type cradle of twined rods and fan-shaped shade has been adopted by the Yokuts, while the Yokuts circular coiled sifting tray has been taken over by the Mono in preference to their own twined triangular sifting tray. Several shapes and their uses were distinguished by D. and may be taken as typical for all the foothill tribes, both Yokuts and Mono, between Kings River and Tule River. They are shown in figures 2 and 3, Part I. It may

W Y 582 W Y [587] W Y 584 587 Y W 585 431 Y W 606 591 W Y [574]

Marriage

With respect to marriage, S.O. said that no type of cousin marriage was tolerated, but cousins were not "counted" beyond second cousins, sometimes third, depending on propinquity of residence; beyond third it would be "all right to marry." Both the levirate and sororate were common but not compulsory. Usually a spouse waited five or six years before remarrying; "they would die right away if they married too soon."

At Tuŏao the advances toward a marriage were made by a boy's parents. They talked about it, discussing suitable matches for their son. The girl must not be related in any way: cousins never married. A similar totem animal, however, was no bar to marriage. When a decision had been reached, the boy's parents (or sometimes only the father) would take a present of acorns and visit the girl's parents. They presented the gift, saying that they wanted to be makŏi (co-parents-in-law) with them and have the girl for a daughter-in-law. After a visit discussing casual affairs, they went home. About six days later (S.O. was not sure how many, "a week maybe") they went back to the girl's home. If their proposal had been accepted, they were given a little feast by the girl's parents. Then the parents consulted their children and, it was said, the couple were usually agreeable. Such arrangements were made when the children were between ten and eighteen years of age, though "a boy wasn't often so old." They did this because "they didn't like to have their children go way off to marry."

When all was settled, the makŏi exchanged gifts, which might comprise beads, baskets, acorn meal, or skins. There was no gift from the boy's family in excess of those from the girl's, "they were just even." The boy himself did not have to bring any gifts.

The boy slept with the girl in her home for about one week (S.O.). He was "bashful" and did not speak with his parents-in-law. Then the couple went to his home where they could remain if they wished, but more often they soon removed to a home of their own. The choice of residence depended largely on the space available in the boy's home. The girl returned home frequently for short visits, her husband sometimes accompanying her. She gathered seeds from her mother's seed localities. She, too, was bashful and did not talk with her parents-in-law.[373]

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[373] S.O. could give no more specific behavior between children- and parents-in-law. Although he gave some 200 personal names in genealogies, he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name. Because of his blindness he remained in her home many years after his wife's death; he spoke of these years with her with considerable affection and related a dream pertaining to her.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
EP 250 9 Western Mono NS 25

W Y 769

The chief's consent was necessary, yet if all the village seemed to want a ceremony held there that year, he could not veto it. The chief's main concern was with available finances: the mourning family should be able to cover the expenses, which were considerable. If, at the time of the event, it proved that they had not, he and his subchiefs (tuyeyi) had to make up the deficit. However, when the families involved had made satisfactory arrangements with the chief, he sent his winatum to the tribes to be invited to announce it for twelve days hence.

The procedure at this point differed slightly from that when a small or "private" ceremony was being announced. As usual, the messenger went directly to the chief, was fed, and told the chief his news. Then the chief sent his winatum to call all the villagers, men and women, to the assembly space. Here the visiting messenger made his announcement publicly, saying that his chief was "making" a mourning ceremony twelve days hence at his village and that they all were invited. When he finished, everyone contributed a little money to pay him, which was collected and presented to him by the local winatum. According to S.O., the chief, now invited, could tell anyone who came to the village meanwhile of the coming ceremony and they might attend it if they wished. The Wukchumni, as the official washers, were always in the majority as visitors, the other most numerous attendants were Michahai and Chukaimina from Squaw Valley and Entimbich from Dunlap. B.O. added that Wukchumni and Entimbich came as washers. This was true of a ceremony given "by his father and some other men," and of the recent aberrant one described below.

W Y 767 783 574

W 769 574

The visitors arrived as they pleased during the week of celebration: the very old and very young usually did not come. They brought only blankets, as the host group provided all food, shelter, firewood, and water. The local winatum (natinab)[197] secured the wood and water, and the women of their families did the cooking. They told the people when to eat. Those persons who were going to do the washing, however, brought the necessary clothing, paraphernalia, and deer meat.

W Y 769 524

No restriction was placed on dancing, gambling, and gaiety during the week. The most popular games were pitching poles (aikaš), hoop and pole (ho'otuš), the woman's dice game (huču'šiko) and, at night only, the hand game (henao'šiko).

W Y 769 184

Lacking here were the Huhuna Dance and Shamans' Contest as part of the ritual series, although both spectacles were well known. The Shamans' Contest was sometimes performed at

[197] At this time B.O. used the Waksachi term tu'buhiñanuwidi for the natinab, for which I could get no translation or explanation. He said they were the same natinab as usual; that "Dove was their ibuk."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.252a] Western Mono NS25
W Y 769 783 556

within the mourning group does not represent an adjustment to changed conditions, but "was often done in the old days too when people hadn't enough money saved up to pay the regular washers," as B.O. said.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

W Y 668 796 [177]

The reports of three informants were combined in another paper[199] to give a coherent picture of the great dance in Eshom Valley. S.O.'s contribution to that synthesis follows; his account makes it appear that the Eshom Valley affair occurred early in the Ghost Dance diffusion. Actually, a year or perhaps more elapsed between the introduction of the movement via the Northfork Mono and its culmination in the great dance in Eshom Valley.

The Ghost Dance was called the "round dance" (ka ´man soi ´wiš) by Michahai and Waksachi. The term "war dance," used by local white settlers and taken over by the Indians when speaking English, was due, so S.O. said, to the fact that "the Paiutes danced a war dance and the white folks thought this was the same thing."

W Y [177]

The dance and its doctrine were introduced to the Michahai-Waksachi by a group of ten or twelve Wobonuch singers led by a man named Ta ´punači. (The only one living in 1926 was Ya ´ki, who would not be an informant.) They came to an Entimbich village, Kičeyu (Dunlap) and told the chief, Ta ´kaš (Little George) and his brother, Košo ´wi, a powerful doctor, that they wanted to have an assemblage. The Eshom Valley site was chosen, perhaps because of its rather central yet secluded locality. The two Entimbich chiefs acted as sponsors although the area belonged to the Waksachi. Messengers were sent to the Patwisha, Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, Telamni, Michahai, Chukaimina, and probably other tribes. From three to five hundred people responded, many of them from the more distant Kings River, Tulare Lake, and Southern Valley tribes.

W Y [624 574]

The Eshom Valley gathering most impressed S.O. because of its numbers and the unflagging energy exhibited. Never before nor after did such an affair take place. As usual, winatums looked after the food supply, not necessarily obtaining it themselves but seeing that hunters were dispatched and that their own women relatives kept up with their cooking. In spite of this, hardships resulted from lack of food.

On the evening of the day appointed for the dance the chief Takaš addressed the multitude. He explained why the meeting had been called: that certain men had come with important news, and they wished to teach all these people their new songs and dances. Then Tapunači spoke somewhat as follows:

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[199]Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 68-72.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yoku[illegible]
EP. 253-9 Western Mono NS25
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Y
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After this dance the singers went on down to the reservation at Tule where the people in the south end of the valley assembled for a dance. S.O. thought that the singers did not visit the Tachi, Wowol, etc., of the lake region, but that these tribes learned the songs and doctrine by attending the foothill dances.[202] On their return the singers stopped at Kičeyu (Dunlap) and a small dance was held. At some time one was held at Carpenter's Flat. The songs were taught to persons from neighboring villages and small local dances were held every month or so. These were attended by visitors from other villages or tribes just as were older established ceremonies. S.O. thought the Ghost dances continued with less and less frequency and enthusiasm over a period of about two years. Finally the various chiefs felt that the efforts were not only futile but injurious to their people. Takaš, for one, called his people together at Kičeyu and spoke to them, pointing out that, in spite of their dancing, people were still getting sick and dying, that their hunting and household duties were neglected, and that the disorganized life and exertions were injuring their health. And he concluded by saying, "If that man's coming, he'll come anyway."

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[202] Actually some singers did go to Telweyit, a Tachi village, according to Wobonuch information.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

101 131 foodstuffs and minerals well within their recognized boundaries.

Each Yokuts tribe was ruled by a Chief. He lived at the 622 principal, or head village. In Yowlumne territory this was 361 *Woilu,* on Reeder Hill, where now stands the Santa Fe passenger depot in Bakersfield. The next important Yowlumne village, *Tesinliu,* was located on the north bank of Kern River about three miles above the Discovery Well of the Kern River Oilfield. The third most important village was on the south side of Kern River just above the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now known as the Olecese place. The chiefs at the two upstream villages were responsible to the head chief at Reeder Hill.

Yokuts villages were almost always located on well traveled trails and sometimes at a point where two trails crossed. Important villages on rivers were often at a ford, or easy crossing, where a trail following the hills crossed another following the river. This was true of the village on Reeder Hill and the one between the Rio Bravo Rancho and the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

624 The chiefs of these villages placed a *Winatun,* or private 576 secretary, at a point where trails entered the village. It was the responsibility of the Winatun to meet all approaching travelers, to learn who they were, what was their business, and, if possible, to give them what information was necessary and send them on their way. If the traveler was not so easily disposed of, it was then the duty of the Winatun to conduct him to the chief. After the interview it was the duty of the Winatun to conduct the traveler to the edge of the village and bid him goodbye.

This practice is still carried on at the camps or villages of of remaining Yokuts Indians. After having visited Indian camps and having gathered data from aged Indians for more than twenty-five years, this writer finds this feature one of the most pleasing Yokuts characteristics. It makes a visitor feel welcome to have someone appear and pass the time of day as he drives his car up to an Indian door. If he has time, the young man who is elected as a greeting committee of one will open any gates that are closed.

796 The Yowlumne periodically performed a ceremony that ● 574 can be classed as a snake dance. Live rattlesnakes were used and were handled by snake doctors, or special medicine men. Yokuts came to this dance from neighboring tribes as far away

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

as the Kaweah River and Tejon Canyon, back of present Tejon Ranchos Headquarters. 796 574

YOWLUMNE BOWS AND ARROWS

The Yokuts Indians of the San Joaquin Valley had probably developed the science of hunting with the bow and arrow further than had most Indians. The Yowlumne, of Kern River, were foremost among the Yokuts in this work. At least three types of bows were made. The most common of these was a bow made of elderberry wood. On first thought it would seem that this material would be the most unsuited of any, but it makes an excellent bow. It can be secured in long, straight, clear staves and can be made into as heavy a bow as is wanted. It has a smooth, strong cast, which it does not lose for many years. 411 824

I once carelessly put a strung elder bow in a closet and did not discover it for more than a year. I unstrung it and stood it in a corner near my desk. In twenty minutes it was as straight as ever and had as good a cast as when it was first made. Elder-wood bows were easily made and were used exclusively in the San Joaquin Valley by boys for hunting all kinds of small game, and even by men for hunting antelope, deer, and elk. Strings for these bows were made of either hemp, sinew, or milkweed fiber. [283]

Good bows were made from native laurel, or bay wood. This tree grows in the Sierra in clumps of many small, straight trunks. It is easily split into staves, which are stronger for their size than those made of elder-wood.

Aged Yowlumne Indians state that the Frémontia of the Sierra can be used to make a complete hunting weapon—bow, string and arrows. They say that the bark can be stripped off and twisted into a good string. The large branches can be split into staves and the small, straight branches made into arrows. With a few primitive tools a disarmed Yowlumne in a few hours' time could manufacture a complete hunting weapon. [283]

The finest Yokuts bows were made of juniper and were backed with sinew. Juniper staves were traded from the Monache, or Piute to the east, or were secured in Yokuts territory in the upper Coast Range mountains. Bows of juniper were shorter than those made of other woods. They required more skill and labor to produce and were highly valued. [439]

3: Latta-Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

123 438 484 Dunlap. None of them seemed to hurry, but with a few soft, murmuring Yokuts words they faded into the car.

At Dunlap we entered the gate of the first Indian camp. I expected them to finish their trading in a few minutes, so we could return to the Kaweah in short order. Although they hurried from the car to the house, I noticed that the sack of [574] hupud and the large bundle of chawkish were left in the car. They visited a few minutes, exchanging news of all the friends and relations. Then Ada grunted and we all trailed back to the car. On we went to another place, where the performance was repeated. I was impatient at this, as the afternoon was fast slipping away. I saw that I would probably be late for that dinner engagement, but I knew better than to say anything.

At the third place we had no more than entered the house than Ada grunted. Letha ran out to the car and carried in the basketry materials. The trade was soon made and in less than five minutes we were on our way back to the Kaweah.

On our return I asked Ichow why Ada had not traded at the first places we visited. He explained that those first people had their bundles of hupud made up too small. I remembered that bundles of hupud were hanging on the walls of the houses, but, until Ichow mentioned it, I had not observed that they were smaller than Ada's bundles. All the way home Ichow and Ada tried hard to explain to me how trading was carried on between the Yokuts tribes and how their bead money was used in connection with it.

436 438 According to Ada, bundles of cladium root and redbud wood were made up the same size. But sword-fern root was made up about two-thirds as large. Because, as Ichow translated, [484] "They had to travel a long way to get it and it had to be colored."

Ichow, prompted by a few soft murmurs from the rear seat, [195] explained at great length—great length for a Yokuts—how important it was to have everything put up in the right size. Here is one of his statements. "In them old days them old people don't got scales to weigh with, don't got yard-stick to measure with. They make that black paint all into same size [804] balls, not so big as your baseball. My old grandpa, *Che'-chis*, trade some balls that black paint for some balls white paint when I was a little boy. I see him do it. Both kinds paint they trade was in same size balls."

3: Latta-Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

600 It is surprising to most persons that the life of the Indians was so complex. It requires volumes to recount the many details of their life regarding the securing and preparing of food stuffs, wearing apparel and the multitudinous materials utilized by them. Even at the present time the surviving full-
624 blood Yokuts Indians will be found to have within their houses in addition to the food stuffs known and used by us, many additional seeds, plants, roots, herbs and other materials. It is impossible to attempt to cover all of these things in detail.

THE MOTHER-IN-LAW PROBLEM

606 Probably the most interesting convention of the Yokuts was
591 their custom concerning the relationship between the mother-in-law and son-in-law. When the young Yokuts man married, it was in some tribes customary for him to go to live with the parents of the bride for a period of time approximating one year. During this time he helped with the hunting and other arts and pastimes and shared the responsibilities of the head of the house. Out of this practice there developed a problem which civilized people only too well understand and which led to the mother-in-law taboo. Among tribes where this practice was common, it became customary for the son-in-law never to speak to the mother-in-law and for the mother-in-law never to speak to the son-in-law.

There was no ill feeling between the two because of this. It was simply a necessary custom, and they conformed to that custom religiously. It is said that in some tribes the mother-in-law, upon meeting the son-in-law, would turn to one side and cover her face. This probably represents the custom at its extreme practice. Among some tribes no taboo of any kind was known.

As the period of sojourn with the bride's parents was over, the young couple removed to a distance varying from a few yards to a half mile or more, as the experience of the past year would seem to dictate, and built for themselves a home.

606 The following experience was related by a man who worked
● 574 for many years among the Yokuts. He had traveled many miles in the heat of summer to visit a Yokuts basket maker on one of the Sierra streams. Upon arrival at her little shack, after a walk of several miles from the end of the road, he found that she was gone upon a long trip for the purpose of gathering roots and other materials for basketry. At home were the husband and an elderly lady, who was a stranger to the visitor.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Upon learning that the basket maker was gone, the caller decided to return to his car, but being quite thirsty, asked for a drink of water. This immediately created for the host a real problem. There was no water in the house. It was approximately one-fourth mile to the spring. He could not very well leave his guest there while he went to bring water. Neither did he consider it hospitable to tell his guest to go after it. The elderly lady was his mother-in-law. She could not understand the English conversation, and he could not talk to her at all in any language.

After studying for a moment, he walked out of the house. Standing quite close to the wall near where the mother-in-law sat, he placed his hands to his mouth, and in a very moderate tone, called in the Indian language to his wife, who was from two to three miles up the canyon, "Mary, come and bring the white man a drink of water." Then he immediately came back in the house, sat down and began to entertain his guest.

The mother-in-law immediately arose, picked up a bucket and, as her son-in-law had intended that she should, brought water from the spring.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 There was a big brush shade around where they danced.
769 The company camped under this shade. It was a long shade. The place inside was about 100 steps across. There was a big fire in the middle. It was down by the creek west of the "Fish" Rice house a little way on the south side of the creek just south of where the roads cross now. The old cemetery was just north across the creek.

The Winatun worked for the chief and told the people
[624] where to camp when they came. There were lots of tribes
[574] there. I remember people from the Tachi, Yokodo, Chunut, Kaweah, Choinok, *Wolase, Wukchumne, Koyeti, Yaudanchi, Wuksahche, Nutunutu, Wowol* and *Telumne* tribes.

The Winatun gave each people their grub when they came. They had some grub along, but the people at Sulawlahne had to give all of the meat and most of the rest of the grub. We bought cows to eat from "Fish" Rice. I remember that there were two cows hanging up at once. We had some deer meat, and antelope and elk too. Our hunters killed a lot during the week of the Lonewis, but we had to have lots of beef besides. This meat was to eat after the Lonewis was over.

Pleas Work was there with his Indian Wife. She was a
[551] *Pahd-wishi*. Her name was *Haw'-nick* (Measuring Worm). She was a very pretty woman, but we were afraid of Pleas. He was a bad man. He killed lots of Indians. He only stayed two days. We liked it better after he left.

Our *Chumlus* (Choom'-loos) had all of our clothes to put
[302] on us after we washed. My mother had painted her cheeks with black paint and had cut her hair off when my father
[317] died. We got the black paint [graphite] from a hill by the place you call Stokes Mountain. We burned it before we
[152] used it. We cried almost all of the time until the Lonewis. All
[262] of the time after my father died we did not eat any meat until after the Lonewis was over.

My mother had paid our Chumlus the money for the
[551] clothes. Mother had not changed clothes since my father died. We had not spoken my father's name. After the Lonewis was over the Chumlus had to wash us and put our clean new clothes on us. Then we could all be happy again.

As soon as we camped, my mother began fixing the man to burn in the fire at the Lonewis. She had saved her money for a year and had bought a good suit of clothes at Mr. Sweet's store

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the hills—but all in all the moves probably encompassed not more than a twenty mile span, on the average, for anyone.

There is some evidence that early fall was a season of general sickness for people in the San Joaquin valley, especially for those in the swampy region near the lake. The evidence is tenuous; whether the illness was due to stagnant, contaminated or alkaline water, to heat stroke, to an increase in tularemia as the result of greater handling of rabbits and ground squirrels, it is impossible to say.[13]

September saw a return to the villages: winter storage preparations were made, and with view to the complete reëstablishment of normal community life plans were started for the great event of the year, the Annual Mourning Ceremony (luni·ša). To this end much material—foodstuffs in abundance, treasures of baskets, feather ornaments, money—had been prepared or saved. Preparatory loans already had been floated to be returned at high interest at the time of the festivity, usually late October. Necessary supplies of deer meat were obtained by special hunters at the very time of the event. Guests came by the hundreds. Obviously such large-scale entertainment could be managed only at the season of most plentiful food supplies.

Thus October saw the greatest of the year's festivities, the six-day ceremony of special rites, one for each day, climaxing in the all night mourning and distribution of wealth, followed by the ritual cleansing, and ending with a feast, game playing and dancing, the acquisition of foods, gifts, and exchanged treasures. These affairs might be held in two or three Yokuts-Mono tribes during this period (roughly late September to early November), and the same persons attend them, at home as hosts, elsewhere as reciprocal ritual participants, or as visitors.

November brought the final seasonal ceremony, the Bear Dance (nōhō'o ka·maič), which marked the first use of the new acorn crop by all persons of the Bear lineages—sometimes for other people as well.[14] This brief but exciting performance ended with a feast of acorns prepared and served by Bear people to their guests, after which they themselves partook. The dance was timed to follow the final harvesting of acorns and coincided with the time when bears betook themselves to winter hibernation.

Thus ended the ceremonial year, with mourners released from their restrictions, with storehouses filled, with houses repaired, and with long evenings ahead

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13 A comparable summer sickness of waterfowl in this area is on record (Joseph Grinnell, Harold Child Bryant, and Tracy Irwin Storer, *The Game Birds of California*, Berkeley, 1918, p. 17).

14 Lineage attributes and functions have been described in the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization* (American Anthropologist, vol. 47, pp. 409-426, 1945).

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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361 had two, perhaps others had three or four. Whether the number of villages was in direct ratio with the size of the tribal population is not known; the villages of a large tribe may have been no more numerous than those of a small tribe, merely being larger, or vice versa.

Locations of villages naturally were geographically determined. Thus practically all those described by informants were convenient to a good water supply; many were on small open flats at the water's edge, as Gutanumi, a Wukchumni village on the Kaweah river, and Kitceyu, an Entimbich site (now Dunlap, Fresno county), or on a slight hill near a creek as Tcitatu, a Waksachi site in Eshom valley. Sunlight was regarded as desirable, as would be expected for winter habitation. The villages of the plains Yokuts along the edge of Tulare lake and in the network of sloughs approaching the lake were on such rises of ground as were available.

The appearance of these villages differed somewhat in the plains and in the foothills. In the open valley houses were invariably of tule mats, the most convenient material. They were placed in two long rows facing each other, with the chief's house in the center and with his messengers established at each end.[7] My Chunut informant said, "the houses looked just like a street." One Chunut chief, Kanti, had his house apart from the village on a little eminence of land, but this was perhaps a modern innovation. The houses were large and accommodated several persons. Little storehouses or storage bins were scattered here and there. Not far from the water's edge a sweat-house or two emerged from the ground.

361 184 In the foothills houses were of tule when available but more often of brush or grass thatch, or in the mountains of cedar bark slabs. There was no village plan: houses were scattered about, storage bins roosted on rock ledges, officials lived where they would. The Kechayi Yokuts and perhaps other northern foothill Yokuts placed their houses in a single row with the chief's at the west end if the ground of the village site permitted such an arrangement, but such cases were uncommon. The sweat-houses were always near a swimming hole if there was one. The dance and assembly space was usually out at one side of the village. Occasionally a dance place occurred as a separate site, but was never more than a mile from a village. Visitors at ceremonies camped under shades near the dance space during their stay. [574]

[7] Kroeber, Handbook, 497.

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tion. His position was acquired by heredity. Normally the office passed from an elder brother to the next younger, and then reverted to the elder brother's eldest son.[22] This rule was not rigid, however, and was modified in accordance with circumstance. When a chief became too enfeebled with sickness or age to continue his duties he would say whom he wanted to take his place. If his choice was acceptable to the other chiefs and elder men of the village, a gift of money was sent to the nominee. The man chosen did not have to accept the office unless he wished to.

The chief's house was perhaps larger than that of others but not necessarily or markedly so. Neither was the dress of a chief or of the members of his family distinctive. Powers states that chiefs wore their hair long, but so did all men, according to my informants.[23] The food storehouses of the chief were always well filled. He did not hunt himself. Food was provided for the chief's family by young hunters in the village. Such men were not permanently appointed for the task, but would be dispatched by the winatums to get fresh meat or fish for the chief. Informants disagree as to whether the chief paid for his provisions or not, but the weight of evidence indicates that he did not. The chief had to have a plentiful food supply for it was his duty to offer a meal to every traveler, foreign messenger, or stranger, who entered his village. Furthermore, the chief or his wife gave meat to extremely poor people or those who had difficulty in obtaining sufficient food, as the aged or widowed. Such people would accept the food and if possible would return a little acorn meal to the chief when they had an extra supply. A basket might be given in return. Such a return was prompted by courtesy and gratitude, and was not compulsory.

The Chunut (Y) informant described feasts given by the chief.[24] These apparently were non-ceremonial—primitive dinner parties perhaps.

> Kanti, the chief, had a big house on a hill near this rancheria. Many people could get in there; it was where he lived. He held parties there. His wife and other old ladies would gather seeds and cook them. Any stranger might go regardless of his moiety affiliation. Every guest brought some food with him, but the chief paid him a little money for it. This was just for a good time. Nobody paid the chief (as was done at the mourning ceremony). After dinner some men might dance and women with them: wĭti hatim tupan toino (little dance half night). Such dancers dressed up or not just as they liked, wearing a feather headdress or skirt, or painting their faces.

[22] See genealogy, Western Mono, Wakaachi 1, and Yokuts; Entimbich, Appendix.
[23] *Op. cit.*, 371.
[24] Jose Alonzo; see Appendix.

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595 622 While polygamy occurred among Yokuts and Western Mono it was not frequent. The chief was more likely than other men to have two wives. This was partly because of his wealth which permitted him to pay for and support them, and also because of the more numerous household duties in his menage. The chief's wives must have food [574] ready for immediate preparation at all times because of the hospitality extended to visitors in the tribe; they cared for the poor of their village, and at the same time entertained socially in a more lavish manner than other families.

556 622 [439] [778] In monetary wealth the chief always surpassed his fellow-citizens. The manner in which his worldly goods were acquired is not completely clear but there are several known sources. One of these was through commercial trading of desirable objects such as eagle down, and of articles traded with trans-Sierra Mono, or between local tribes. The commerce in eagle down was controlled by the chief as the bird was sacred to him and could not be killed without his permission. On this matter a Wukchumni (Y) informant gave the following:[23]

622 237 778 439 Only a chief could order an eagle killed. He paid the man who killed it three to five dollars for the bird. Some man or woman was then asked to prepare the bird; they were paid for their trouble. The large feathers were plucked off. The skin was removed with the down still on it. The leg bones were kept for making whistles. The meat was removed but only the fat saved for tallow salve. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were kept by the chief, and these he sold to doctors or any other persons who wanted them for religious or ceremonial purposes. The carcass was given a special ritualistic burial, at which a mournful attitude prevailed.

622 237 556 [755] This trade in eagle products brought some profit to the chief. The demand for eagle down was constant as it was used by the majority of people for religious purposes such as scattering during prayer, and to make ropes of down which had power in curing sickness. Such ropes were used by non-professional persons who had supernatural power as well as by doctors.

622 439 556 Further profit came to the chief through intertribal commerce. Traders who came from other tribes with baskets, pottery, salt, tanned skins, etc., would first go to the chief's house to state their business, as was customary with all outsiders, and to receive the welcoming meal. Hence the chief had first chance to buy the wares they brought and retail them to his neighbors if he so wished. As a man of wealth

[23] Sam Garfield; see Appendix.

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he could take advantage of this opportunity to purchase desirable articles. The chief's house was often made headquarters for buying and selling when foreign traders appeared. Winatums were dispatched to notify other villages if the traders did not intend to go further.

Chiefs shared in the payment received by doctors of their tribe when dances were given for purposes of entertainment. Thus at the annual mourning ceremony the doctors' contest, which was an indispensable part of the ritual series, was performed by four to ten shamans. Some of the shamans were of the local or host tribe, but the majority were invited for the occasion. At such times invitations, together with a gift of money, were sent to chiefs who were asked to bring their doctors to the ceremony. The shamans themselves were paid by the audience. Each person present at the contest contributed a little shell money, the equivalent of ten to twenty-five cents. This money was collected by the shamans' winatums, and the total was divided among the shamans, the singers who accompanied their performance, and the shamans' winatums.

Often a chief was asked to bring an especially talented doctor or dancer to give a performance for the specific purpose of making money. From the audience's point of view the spectacle was an entertainment which they gladly paid to see. The following account of the Huhuna dancer gives us an example of this method of making money:[36]

The Waksachi (WM) did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wukchumni (Y) and one from Tule River reservation that came up to Waksachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai (Y), too. Their names are not remembered. They came to fandangos at Tucao (the central village of the Michahai with a heavy admixture of Waksachi). They made money for Pao'ite, the chief, but they were paid for doing it.

Huhuna could hear money. Before the dance began the chief had money hidden. He put up the most but anybody that wanted to could put up a little money for this. It was hidden in the ground, under a shrub, or up in the rafters of the shades around the dance space. Huhuna was brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask that covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he heard the hidden money he pointed to it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum who dug it out for him and put it in a basket.[37] After the money was all found Huhuna continued his dancing in order to make money for Pao'ite. In the meantime Pao'ite had sent his own winatum for a doctor who was to kill Huhuna with magic. He paid the doctor three or four dollars to do this. The

[36] From Sam Osborn; see Appendix. The Huhuna dance was part of the mourning ritual series, but might be performed outside of its ceremonial context at any time.

[37] This winatum might be loaned by the local chief or might be brought along with the chief and Huhuna.

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622 756 541 574 winatum made a little fire in the dance space from which the doctor manufactured his magical "air-shot" (toiyue). He also told Huhuna where to sit down when he was to be "shot." The doctor had a blanket which was laid down for his money to be thrown on. When the shaman was ready he danced around a bit and then cast the invisible "shot" at Huhuna. Huhuna fell over unconscious. Pao'ite's winatum was standing by ready to pick up Huhuna and carry him over to his own (Huhuna's) chief. Then all the spectators present threw down some money for Huhuna who had died. This was collected by Pao'ite's winatum and placed at Huhuna's side. It was this money which Pao'ite received. Then the spectators again gave money or acorn meal, which was presented to the visiting chief.

The doctor who had shot Huhuna now came forward and went through the process of reviving his victim. This ended the performance and Huhuna and his chief went off to their camp.

The money given by the audience at Huhuna's death and received by Pao'ite totaled more than his expenses in giving the ceremony. Similarly Huhuna's chief received a greater monetary value in the money and acorn meal paid in than he paid to his dancer. The informant was uncertain whether Huhuna's chief paid him on these occasions or not.

622 556 574 Thus chiefs, though always having to pay more than any ordinary citizen to entertainers or ceremonial performers, nevertheless often made a large profit from such affairs. It is difficult to find a basis for this reciprocal relationship unless it was that the dancer was more likely to obtain a larger audience when sponsored by his own chief. It was not possible to hold a dance or ceremony in any village without permission from the local chief. If a dancer such as Huhuna wanted to make some money by going about to various villages, it is probable that he would be more likely to get permission to give his dance if accompanied by his own chief than if he came alone. On the other hand, such performances, outside of their ceremonial context, may have as often been instigated by the chief in his desire to make money as by the dancer himself. A similarly profitable reciprocity between chiefs and shamans will be discussed in a later section.

651 541 No conventional system of taxation was employed by Yokuts or Western Mono but an equivalent method was in vogue. In the description of Huhuna's dance given above we saw that each person in the audience contributed a bit of money or foodstuff to pay for the entertainment. This was usual at all public functions. At an evening festivity, perhaps a purely social affair, a chief would tell his winatum that he wanted a certain dance performed. He would give the winatum some money which the latter took to a dancer with the request for a performance. This initial payment was all that the

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622 648 728 tribe. The chiefs talked the matter over and a truce was settled. Immediately a dance was held which tribes from both sides, i.e., Wobonuch, Entimbich, Waksachi, and Wukchumni, attended. This was the first social intercourse between the tribes of Dunlap valley and those of the Kaweah river drainage. They have kept up friendly relations ever since.

621 625 574 The Wobonuch had no war leader or captain: at Taobin there were two guards who stayed on the trail where it came in between two big rocks. There was a narrow approach of this sort on each side of the village. When strangers appeared these guards would go out to meet them and ask their business. If strangers came along quickly, minding their own business and behaving as if they had some purpose, they would not be harmed, but if a man were seen lurking about in the bush he would be shot at once.

622 648 [776] The Chunut informant says that occasional intertribal wars occurred but that there was "no special man to lead the fight."[41] She added that chiefs never fought. Any man who was good at fighting would lead the hostilities. Such a man was likely to have raven as his dream helper.

In warfare, then, the chiefs had no active part, but functioned in their traditional rôle of advisors or judiciaries whose decisions were accepted by common consent.

CEREMONIAL DUTIES

622 The chiefs had certain ceremonial duties which informants seemed unable to define clearly. At apparently all public functions the chief made a short speech. Informants sometimes call this a "prayer." He always told the assembled people what the ceremony was to be and why they were making it, but specific remarks for individual occasions the informants could not or would not give.

622 769 The most important speech made by the chief was that at the annual mourning ceremony. This was spoken on the last (sixth) night of the celebration during the "cry" ritual. Among the Wobonuch the chief addressed the mourners at the ceremony just before the destruction of the images of the deceased; "he told them what they were doing and why, and he told them to quit worrying now. 'This is the *end of your feeling bad.*' "[42]

The Choinimni informant said that the chief made a speech at the cry ceremony but "couldn't remember" what it was about. Another informant, Michahai-Waksachi, said he would repeat what the chief said in this speech "but my language is too short." As a matter of

[41] Jocie Alenso.

[42] 'Merican Joe, informant, George Dick, interpreter.

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182 ceptions of shamanism and the supernatural. There could be no doubt
756 as to the shaman's experiences, since every one had them in milder or less frequent forms. The mysteries of shamanistic tricks may have been doubted by a skeptic or two, but the public shamans' contest was ocular evidence of their powers to kill and to revive. By such demonstrations was popular belief maintained and fortified.

182 The lack of codified law was related, I think, to two different
626 factors, an easy subsistence and generosity as an ideal. These two
671 factors themselves may have been mutually interactive. Before white intrusion, game, acorns, seeds, and tule root formed an abundant food
262 supply in the San Joaquin valley; there are no famine tales from this area. It would seem that this condition may account for the lack of definite property areas. There was no need to set up a boundary if there were nothing of special value to protect. If a food shortage had occurred, or an unexpected invasion taken place, competition for acorn, seed, or game areas would have stimulated or necessitated property ownership. Besides the lack of property laws, the custom of
[574] giving food to visitors, of returning value for value if a present were
431] received, reduced the chances for theft, against which a formal law might have been established. Viewed from another angle these cultural habits may be regarded as laws; they were such in effect, but
[431] were not verbally formulated. From the point of view of their own culture the giving of food at any time, the giving of gifts, and especially the casting away of both at the annual mourning ceremony,
[565] were customs of courtesy expressing the ideal of generosity. Equality of rank among the people at large, that is, the absence of a class system, expressed the nullity of codified social law.

182 The lack of clearly defined concepts in Yokuts-Western Mono life
773 may itself be regarded as a cultural form, an expression of thought
829 habits. There existed a coherent system of thought which appeared in their mythology, their social system, and their ceremonial life. But the system was not ramified by specific ideas; thus, Eagle created the world and flew off, but whether he flew north, south, east, or west
[787] *is of no moment to the Yokuts mind.* He went above say some, or possibly to the east, another says to the west. That Eagle and all his former companions still exist is attested by the dream experiences of
182 dozens of individuals; it doesn't matter where they are. The same
829 laxity of thought prevails in the legal system: a chief makes a decision in a quarrel, but his next decision may or may not follow the precedent set in the former case. The respected elders of a village exercise

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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105 184 permanent villages from which people moved seasonally or for brief periods to obtain particular products, the internal importance of family, extended family and lineage, the cross-cutting of villages by a moiety organization which provided chieftainship, village exogamy and a tendency towards moiety exogamy — in these and other respects there appears little diference between the Tachi and their eastern neighbors. Undoubtedly full information would show some differences in detail. For example, it appears likely that Tachi women contributed less to the food supplies than did the women of acorn using tribes, but this does not appear to be reflected in the social roles.

182 619 [621] It would seem, therefore, that the lake ecology, different though it may appear, supports similar social conditions to those of the acorn using tribe In each case the pattern is that of the permanent village with some hundreds of people who are able to get the bulk of their subsistence within a relatively restricted area supplemented only by [361] periodic or seasonal absences. The close proximity of settlements in [162] each case, the relatively high density of population with respect to major resource areas, the seasonal fluctuation in availability and location of major resources, all favor the existence of mechanisms for settling or preventing intra-tribal disputes and possible conflicts with [616] similar neighboring groups. The moiety organization cut across the village organization, contributing to the cohesiveness of the tribe as well as providing a mechanism for diffusing power and for the selection of chiefs. The equatibility of moieties among various Yokut tribes perhaps also contributed to stable intertribal relationships. A similar [574] function was served by the sharing of common resources in some cases, and by the exchange of hospitability in connection with religious ceremonials.

182 616 [164] It appears to us at present, however, that the moiety is not essential to the functioning of social systems under either lake or valley conditions. The northern Yokuts lack moieties and they are absent among other linguistic groups occupying similar environments.

182 231 Our conclusion is that substantially different ecological adaptations may be associated with quite similar social organizations providing the possibility of similar groupings of people exist. In the present instance both the lake and the acorn adaptations provide relatively abundant and reliable food supplies within limited areas, permitting the forming of fairly large and fairly stable communities. It is this fact, rather than a direct ecological relationship, which has permitted

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ESTUDILLO AMONG THE YOKUTS: 1819

By A. H. Gayton

114 797

THE SPANISH MISSIONS situated on the California coast between San Francisco and San Diego made frequent forays into the San Joaquin valley for converts during the early years of the nineteenth century. The commandants of these little expeditions usually kept diaries or made reports, some of which contain facts of interest concerning the nature of the land and people visited. None of them are very illuminating ethnographically, but they do add bits to our knowledge of the region, so different at that time. Then, as now, it was inhabited entirely by Yokuts-speaking tribes save for a fringe of Shoshoneans along its mountainous eastern edge.

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The report made in diary form by Lieutenant José María Estudillo in 1819 has somehow been overlooked. Bancroft speaks of it as "not extant" and of Estudillo's campaign as "a failure."[1] He thereby apparently misled later writers, who omitted the information contained in this diary from an otherwise thorough investigation of archive material on Yokuts village sites and populations.[2] It does not figure in Merriam's discussion of California native populations, though it is used by this author in another connection at a later date.[3] The data offered by Estudillo supplement those of Moraga and Gareés used by Kroeber in his estimate of Yokuts and California Indian populations.[4] To integrate our Spaniard's calculations with the results arrived at by Kroeber, Gifford, and Schenck, is beyond the scope of this paper, the purpose of which is merely to make the data more readily available to those interested.

Meager as are the ethnographic facts recorded by Estudillo, they coincide with the details of Yokuts culture obtained by Kroeber and other investigators a century later. The sketchy lines of Estudillo's picture are readily extended into a realistic delineation of Yokuts life by those familiar with its characteristics. The aquatic habits of the valley people contrast strongly with the hunting, seed-gathering activities of the hill dwellers. Yet it is clear that they maintained close communication and enjoyed intertribal festivities on a large scale, as we have been told by modern informants. That amicable relations between the foothill Yokuts and the Western Mono (the "bad people" of the mountains) is recent, is also corroborated.

[574] [648]

Two copies of the diary appear to have been made by Estudillo or his amanuensis. The first, translated here, is finally dated November 16, 1819. The second, not differing sensibly from this, is finally dated November 19, and is presumably a copy of the first made after his return and perhaps polished a

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, Vol. 19: California, Vol. II, 1801–1824 (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, 1885), 336.

[2] E. W. Gifford and W. Egbert Schenck, Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, UC-PAAE 23:24, 1926.

[3] C. Hart Merriam, The Indian Population of California, AA, n.s., 7:594–606, 1905; Jedediah Smith's Route across the Sierra in 1827, California Historical Society Quarterly, 25–29, April, 1924.

[4] A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, BAE-B 78:488–491, 1925.

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pools. [Copy of Nov. 19: According to the size of it, it should show the number of 300 souls. . . . Their dialect is like that of Tukal.] Their captain and the greater part of the inhabitants, they told me, were at Chischa, 8 leagues away.

I continued eastward and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Joasps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives [copy of Nov. 19: two brothers and six sisters], since on the following day they would all celebrate, and various rancherías had been invited to the fiesta. He and his relatives helped to give water to the horses, since it was already 6 P.M.

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: From this point (Coyaipich) to the weeping place of Joasps, Captain of Chischa, and from there to his ranchería, as to that of Telame, and as far as the edge of the Roblar, the land is admirable for its fertility, although rough because of its virginity. With its moisture, it only invites all to its cultivation to give abundant crops of wheat, grains, corn, and all the legumes, as long as it is irrigated. And the waters of San Gabriel can easily be carried in case of necessity. The pasture remains green and dry the year around. The woods are oaks of various species, willows, and poplars; there are some wild plants in the level parts, and in the arroyo and bogs. Moreover there abounds a shrub that they call wild hemp, very white and strong, of which the natives make their nets for fishing and (which) we (use) for sewing our shoes. Some of it is so fine it serves for sewing clothes.

The dialect is the same. The sustenance which they have is of acorns, very savory wild grain, and different kinds of seeds which this country naturally produces with great abundance. The river has several kinds of tasty fish, the little pools and arroyos a kind of anchovy which the Indians catch and dry in large quantities to keep for the rigorous times of winter. And they have pine nuts which they gather in the mountains.]

Having had news from the Choynocos that there was a Christian from San Miguel among them at the fiesta, and that they had two horses, I spoke to Joasps. He immediately sent to tell the captain of the Choynoca to come, and to bring the Christian and horses. He [the captain] arrived at 10 P.M. with him and with a horse, begging me in his name and those of the other captains to forgive him. [He said] that they all invited me with his people to pass tomorrow at the fiesta which the captain of Chischa, Joasps, was making. I accepted, and he returned at midnight to Chischa, 3 leagues away from Choinoco.

The two rancherías [copy of Nov. 19: three] that I have seen today all had their women and children hidden, but after they were informed that no priest accompanied me, they came out and presented themselves.

Friday, 29.—At 6 A.M. started the march to the north edges of the Sierra [along the foothills?] accompanied by the native captain, Joasps, going to his Ranchería of Chischa where the reunion for the funeral celebration was to take place. Arrived at 8 P.M. There came out to receive me 7 captains from

various parts, of which 2 were Telame, he of Choynoco, and 4 from other rancherías of the Roblar in the vicinity of the mountains. They begged me to come and see them all. I made suitable precautions without letting it be known, casually dispatched my horse, and accompanied by two interpreters directed myself first within the ranchería of these Chischeses. They pressed upon me various dishes of atoles and pinoles, which I tasted in order not to offend them, and they were satisfied. I counted 437 able-bodied young men in the walk I took, and about 600 women and children all placed before this village. Across the front of the ranchería I counted 358 double paces [*pasos dobles*] which makes 624 yards [*varas*], and across its back 432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the ranchería were the guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 young women.

When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while other younger ones were grinding these seeds on stones as is their custom [copy of Nov. 19: with large baskets of thick acorn mush].

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: Of the Ranchería of Chischa nothing was known until now. Its people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance. Their number should be greater, judging by the scarcity (*cortedad*) of people seen, not counting the young people who were no doubt hiding in the willows which encircle the neighborhood of the river. This was proved when the sergeant of the rear-guard party saw more than 200, women, lads, little girls and boys, come out from the river edge beside it to look at us, and told me of it in a moment.

Of the population of natives who inhabit the Roblar, and from there along the Sierra to the Ranchería of Apalame, there are, or there ought to be more inhabitants in it. The number of people which I calculate could be Christianized is from 5 to 6 thousand, little more. This is from the rancherías of the lakes and rivers.]

After finishing my walk with the captains, I made known to them all the objects and ends of my coming. They assured me that they had among them no more Christians than that one from Choinoco who had been brought to me, nor had any come to Chischa. Thus neither their captain Josaps nor his people had ever seen troops, this being the first time that they had reached them. Though long ago some passed below [this was Don Gabriel Moraga in his reconnaissance made in 1806], they only heard of it through their friends from Telame. Josaps and the other captains wished to trade with us, save that we lived very far from them, and that they could not cross [the valley]

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to come to the mission or Presidio as they had enemies of their own in the intervening territory. But after disposing of their fears and [telling them?] that they could come when they liked, Jonsps promised me that he would come to Monterey next spring. For which, and for his protection among the outposts where he would cross, I gave him a pass, which was greatly appreciated.

They presented to me as gifts various baskets [*coras*], flour [*pinole*], and grain [*arroz*], but having nothing with which to return their kindness, I did not accept them, saying that I had no means of carrying the things. I only took three measures [*almudes*] of grain and gave them some corn flour. As they asked that the soldiers be allowed to go about I permitted it. They went in parties in charge of the sergeant and corporals, and with orders to take no more than a taste of the foods and that which was given them. Thus it was done, and they were well satisfied.

At 12 that day a captain from the Ranchería of Notontos [Nutununtu] arrived, who was presented to me by the others at the gathering, and then retired with them.

At 1 P.M. there came for the fiesta from the interior of the Sierra Nevadas, 4 captains from a ranchería named Apalame. Their names were Cholmuk [copy of Nov. 19: Chomulk], Gilmosts, Ogmost, and Gulstos. With them were 69 men and 42 women. Though they had never seen soldiers they made no novelty of it, for Joasps had sent word saying that they might come without fear, as we were friends. The men arrived making skirmishes with their bows and arrows, killing dogs and chickens [*gallinas*] with permission from the Chischas, and afterward paid the latter with beads. Then they commenced to eat them with great pleasure.

[Copy of Nov. 19: In the conversation which I had with the captain, Jonsps, he told me that he and his people went up on the hills of the Sierra to gather pine nuts, and that in some places there were uplands of good earth where one could easily go on horseback, but it was very far. From the people of the interior I learned some particulars of the people who live on the other side, who, they told me, gather their harvest of pine nuts and seeds from both sides (?, *en ambas vandas*), but that they themselves did not go far into the mountains for the inhabitants were very bad people. There are three ranges of mountains, though not so great as these (on the west slope of the Sierra) where there are very large acorn-bearing oak trees. They had never seen people like us before.]

I was urged many times to remain with them over night, which was that of the weeping, and for the dance on the following day. [Copy of Nov 19. Their captain Jonsps, as I have said, is making the funeral celebration which was carried out (*compone*) in the following way. They gathered in little groups with faces blackened, and giving most lamentable wails with exaggerated grief, so they passed the night. On the day following they washed themselves, and painted, and formed dancing groups by rancherías. The master of the fiesta, after giving them a feast of fish caught in the river, drew

[p.10-A]

538 is betrayed, but to her pregnancy as a consequence of the betrayal. The "confession feast," the ritualistic recounting of an exotic experience, climaxes the Orpheus tales (abstracts 139-153).

[606] The rôle of parents-in-law as mediators in domestic quarrels is indicated in the Pleiades tales (tales 15, 33).

[525 526] The great gambling game, particularly for spectacular rivalry, was shinny. Of secondary importance, arrow shooting, lance throwing, racing, and the hand-game are mentioned as forms of contests.

[171] Hunting adventures and exploits, which are frequent in stories from the Basin, are ignored, as are almost all mundane occupations. The eating of clover and wild onions (tales 14, 15, 33, 36; abstract 57), and seed gathering (p. 1; abstract 114) are spoken of, but rarely.

[262] [576] Custom required one to call out when approaching a house. To draw near unannounced would arouse suspicion (mentioned in an abstracted text).

538 778 [276] The sacred quality of tobacco is brought out by Falcon's exclusive use of it as food and occasional references to its usage for accomplishing some superhuman task (tales 31, 34, 39; abstract 92). The common sacred talisman, a strand of eagle down, is mentioned (tales 33, 34, 53).

[533] Contact with one's supernatural power or guardian spirit through song is indicated in a few tales (tales 26, 43, 46).

538 It is not rewarding to recount further the incidents of culture in the stories: this résumé indicates the general nature of the cultural features exhibited.

Formalized structure of the tales is not always followed. The most common opening of a Yokuts story is with a statement: "People were living there" (ṭaw xo·xo·hin mani· yokɔ́ts) or "So-and-so was there" or "So-and-so was going along." Western Mono myths more often refer to [171] the time rather than the place, saying, "In olden times" or "Long ago" (manati· co·in) before taking up the action.

Closing phrases are not necessary. A few of Newman's texts end with "That is the end" or my own, taken in English, with "And that's all." But there is no indication of the "tying up" of a story reported for some people or a "call for [784] an early spring." The taboo on summer storytelling was known but thought of as unimportant, or as a logical consequence of habits rather than as a taboo at all. All of Newman's texts were recorded in the summer. My Michahai informant said that people naturally told stories in the winter evenings, in the summer young people ● [574] stayed outside and played. According to the same informant, any visitor in a house might tell stories or adventures. Boys and girls would ask for them if they dared, or hoped that conversation would evoke such recountings. Adolescent [863] Michahai would go to a well-known storyteller's